

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 103118

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BELGRADE, BONN, BUCHAREST,
HELSINKI, LONDON, BUDAPEST, NATO, PARIS, PRAGUE, SOFIA, VIENNA,
WARSAW AND SALT TWO II FROM MOSCOW MAY 29 REPEATED YOU:

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 6153

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR

SUBJ: SOVIET OUTLOOK ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT

1. SUMMARY: AS PREPARATIONS GO FORWARD FOR BREZHNEV' S VISIT TO
WASHINGTON, IT MAY BE USEFUL TO ASSESS OUR RELATIONSHIP ONE YEAR
AFTER THE MOSCOW SUMMIT AND TO EXAMINE HOW BREZHNEV MAY VIEW HIS
NEGOTIATING POSITION. CLEARLY US- SOVIET RELATIONS HAVE BEGUN TO
GENERATE THEIR OWN SUBSTANTIVE MOMENTUM. THE GOING, HOWEVER, MAY
GET SOMEWHAT TOUGHER AS THE TWO SIDES CONFRONT ISSUES INVOLVING
MAJOR, SENSITIVE AND CONFLICTING INTERESTS. BREZHNEV HAS USED
DETENTE AS A STEPPING- STONE TO MOVE TO THE FORE AMONG HIS POLITBURO
COLLEAGUES. THE FACT THAT HE HAS BET HIS OWN POLITICAL CAREER AND
PLACE IN HISTORY ON THE SUCCESS OF HIS DETENTE POLICY-- AND NOW
TAKEN PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPING A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH
THE US-- INCREASES HIS STAKE IN A SUCCESSFUL WASHINGTON SUMMIT.
EXTENSIVE, FAVORABLE PRESS TREATMENT OF US REFLECTS REAL IMPROVE-
MENT IN OUR RELATIONS, BUT IT ALSO APPEARS CONSCIOUSLY INTENDED TO
CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNTER DEEP- SEATED SKEPTICISM IN DOCTRINAIRE PARTY CIRCLES
CONCERNING THE PACE AND DEPTH OF THE DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP. THIS
EVIDENCE OF INGRAINED RESISTANCE TO RADICAL CHANGE SUGGESTS THAT,
WHILE BREZHNEV IS CERTAINLY PREPARED TO PAY A PRICE FOR A SUCCESSFUL

VISIT TO THE US, THERE ARE DEFINITE LIMITS TO THE CONCESSIONS HE CAN REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO MAKE ON CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, PARTICULARLY WHERE THEY INVOLVE MATTERS OF INTERNAL CONTROLS. CURRENT SIGNS OF SOVIET HARDENING ON THE JEWISH QUESTION MAY MERELY REFLECT PRE- SUMMIT MANEUVERING RATHER THAN FORECASTING SPIRIT OF " NO CC COMPROMISE" ON THIS ISSUE, BUT THEY ARE NEVERTHELESS A BAD OMEN BOTH FOR A GOOD RECEPTION OF BREZHNEV IN THE US AND FOR PROGRESS ON THE KEY ISSUE OF CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF MFN AND CREDITS FOR THE USSR. WE WOULD GUESS THAT BREZHNEV FINDS WATERGATE AFFAIR DISTURBING INTRUSION OF COMESTIC POLITICS AND HAS A MUCH MORE MODEST ESTIMATE OF HIS BARGAINING POWER THAN THE US PRESS. HE HOPES TO RETURN FROM WASHINGTON WITH SOME AGREEMENTS IN HAND TO JUSTIFY ANY CONCESSIONS HE FEELS CONSTRAINED TO MAKE; BUT WHATEVER HIS REAL FEELINGS ABOUT THE VISIT HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO PORTRAY IT TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE AS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD IN US- SOVIET RELATIONS. END SUMMARY

2. US- SOVIET DIALOGUE DEEPENS-- A QUALITATIVE CHANGE HAS OCCURRED SINCE LAST MAY IN THE SCOPE AND CLIMATE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AS IT HAS BEGUN TO GENERATE ITS OWN MOMENTUM:

A. BOTH SIDES CAN POINT TO SOLID PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING LAST YEAR' S AGREEMENTS IN A WIDE VARIETY OF AREAS (HEALTH, SCIENCE/ TECHNOLOGY, SPACE, ENVIRONMENT, AND CULTURE).

B. GROWING NUMBERS OF INFLUENTIAL OFFICIALS ON BOTH SIDES ARE BECOMING INVOLVED IN AN ONGOING DIALOGUE. THIS CONTRIBUTES TO INCREASED

SOPHISTICATION AND TO A MORE OUTWARD- LOOKING APPROACH ON PART OF SOME PAROCHIAL AND SUSPICIOUS ELEMENTS WITHIN THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY.

C. NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING THE MILITARY HAVE SHOWN SOME MEASURE OF SUCCESS (INCIDENTS AT SEA, SALT), PROSPECTS THAT TALKS WILL NOW ENCOMPASS MBFR, SUGGEST THAT OTHER SENSITIVE AREAS OF OUR RELATIONS CAN NOW BE ENCOMPASSED IN AN ONGOING DIALOGUE AIMED, IN FIRST PLACE, AT REDUCING THE RISKS OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS.

D. PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IS BEING ATTACHED BY SOVIET SIDE TO EXPANDING ECONOMIC RELATIONS, BUT HERE THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED MAY PROVE DECEPTIVE. DESPITE THE FLOOD OF BUSINESS VISITORS TO USSR AND CONFIDENTIAL

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TALK OF GIGANTIC DEALS (OCCIDENTAL, LNG), FUNDING OF MASSIVE TRADE IS NOT ASSURED, PARTICULARLY GIVEN CONGRESSIONAL RESISTANCE TO THE GRANTING OF MFN BENEFITS AND CREDITS TO USSR. WHILE WORKING- LEVEL OFFICIALS SEEM TO COMPREHEND THE ODDS AGAINST SPECTACULAR BREAK THROUGH IN TRADE, THERE MAY NEVERTHELESS BE AN ATMOSPHERE OF HIGH EXPECTATIONS WHEN THE BREZHNEV DELEGATION COMES TO US.

E. THERE HAS BEEN REMARKABLE CHANGE IN TONE OF SOVIET PRESS WITH SIGNATURE OF VIETNAM PEACE AGREEMENT AND BEGINNING OF PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV VISIT. BREZHNEV WARNED AFTER RENEWED BOMBING LAST DECEMBER

THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM WOULD DETERMINE WHETHER " NEW SUB- STANTIAL STEPS... BECOME POSSIBLE" IN US- SOVIET RELATIONS. SOVIET PEOPLE ARE NOW BEING ENCOURAGED BY SERIES OF ARTICLES ON SPECIFIC

DEVELOPMENTS AND HUMAN INTEREST STORIES TO EXPECT FAR- REACHING IMPROVEMENTS IN THESE RELATIONS.

3. SELLING DETENTE POLICY-- WHILE PRESS TREATMENT OF US REFLECTS THE NATURE OF RELATIONS, IT ALSO APPEARS CONSCIOUSLY INTENDED TO COUNTER DEEP- SEATED SKEPTICISM IN DOCTRINAIRE PARTY CIRCLES CONCERNING THE WISDOM OF DEVELOPING TOO CLOSE A RELATIONSHIP WITH " IMPERIALIST" AMERICA. THE POSSIBILITY OF MAJOR DECISIONS AFFECTING A LONG TERM INTERDEPENDENT RELATIONSHIP (LNG, MASSIVE CREDITS, SALT) DOUBTLESS HAS SHARPENED THE MALAISE OF THE IDEOLOGUES. TO VINDICATE BREZHNEV' S " PEACE PROGRAM", PROMINENT OFFICIALS AND COMMENTATORS ARGUE THAT: (A) USSR STANDS TO PROFIT ECONOMICALLY / TECHNOLOGICALLY FROM IMPROVED RELATIONS; (B) THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN US " IMPERIALIST" ATTITUDES TOWARD GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT AS A RESULT OF VIETNAM AND DOMESTIC PRESSURES; (C) EVEN INFLUENTIAL AMERICANS ARE CHANGING THEIR PREVIOUS " COLD WAR" ATTITUDES TOWARD USSR; (D) LARGE COOPERATIVE PRO- JECTS WILL BE NOT ONLY MUTUALLY PROFITABLE BUT ALSO HELP STRENGTHEN PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH US OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD; AND (E) US INTEREST IN DETENTE AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR REFLECT INCREASED STRENGTH OF SOCIALIST CAMP AND REALIZATION THAT IT IS NECESSARY NOW TO TREAT USSR AS EQUAL, I. E., USSR IS NOT NEGOTIATING FROM WEAKNESS.

4. CONSOLIDATION OF BREZHNEV POSITION-- TO THE EXTENT THAT BREZHNEV IS ABLE TO DEVELOP AND DEMONSTRATE WIDE- SPREAD POPULAR UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR HIS FOREIGN POLICIES, HE STRENGTHENS HIS HAND WITHIN THE MORE DOCTRINAIRE PARTY APPARATUS AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE. HENCE THE RECENT FLOOD OF LETTERS AND DECLARATIONS IN PRAISE OF HIS " LEN

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